2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems. In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

361 lowed into them and is to be found in no other place in Europe.

These little hamlets are constant sources of surprise with their old traditions, native 619 songs and legends. In the more distant fastnesses of the mountains, the natives live in tribes as their ancestors did before them, generations ago, each tribe having distinctive ornaments for their costumes. There are hundreds of small farms scattered throughout the mountains; some in the valleys, others clinging to the side of a mountain, and still others perched on the summit of the lower knolls and even a few on the rocky heights. Their implements and methods are of the simplest ●312 variety. Irrigation is their chief way of watering their fields, for water is plentiful. This delicious, cold, spring water has many sources in the heart of the mountains and is inexhaustible. The natives dig small channels, and where necessary, they make troughs for the water and lead it in zig-zag fashion down the mountain-side to their forms. There is nothing more refreshing nor cooling than this icy-cold fountain that Mother Nature has given the Albanians.

000 Albania is also a seat of historic interest.

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771 351 years ago as to whether it was to be Christian or Moslem. Therefore, in silent compromise, the elder members of the inhabitants had two names: the Moslem one used for public purposes, and the Christian one used privately and for baptisms and marriages, for these ceremonies a priest was smuggled in and out of the neighborhood by night. It was only about thirty years ago that the Christians felt free to declare openly their faith; this was due greatly to the intervention of the Austrians and Russians. However, those of the older generation retain their Moslem names but their children have been given Christian names only.

312 529 757 Perhaps of greatest interest to one visiting this fascinating country for health purposes, will be the healing springs at Llixha, only a few readily negotiable miles from Elbasan. These most unusual springs are certain cures for various forms of rheumatism. The sulphuric waters are so healing that merely by the repeated emptying of cans of water over the body in the oriental fashion many cures have been effected. The ground around these springs is very warm, and until forty years ago, before the useful invasion of the modern

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

baths and hotels, the natives dug large holes near the springs of the desired temperature and saturated themselves therein until cured. The weirdest phenomena of nature lies in the fact that the temperature of the springs is extremely varied: there are the cool, almost cold, enjoyable springs and others that are of varying degrees of heat up to the boiling point. It has been ascertained, however, that the mineral content of all the springs is the same. These famous sulphur baths have performed many seemingly miraculous cures, and are considered usurpers of Carlsbad; and what is more important, the price of living is unbelievably low. The price one pays a day in the average European capital would serve for three or four luxurious days in Albania. It is really amazing that the price of regained health should be so astonishingly moderate. The advent of comfortable and convenient hotels has greatly increased the value of these health-restoring springs, and make them the most desirable of their kind in Europe. One of the most outstanding of these hotels is the Park Hotel constructed on European lines with comfortable bathrooms, electric light and electrotherapy by a visiting doctor.

sirability to improve the quality and the quantity of the domestic crop in order to be able to export wheat into the eastern neighboring country, Greece, and elsewhere.

Besides maize and wheat, there are numerous other grainfruits grown in rather equally large proportions. Rye is to be found in the mountainous regions of the east and northeast; oats and barley are grown in almost all sections of the country.

It is also to be noted with interest the rapid growth in the production of rice in Albania. This particular industry thrives in the districts of Elbasan and Berat. Here are many rice plantations and improvements in the irrigation system which has been rather antiquated to a certain extent, and since such a great supply of water is necessary, there have been great strides made in bettering the method of agriculture which will, without doubt, greatly enhance the production of rice.

Hemp is also raised successfully.

Flax and cotton are also cultivated and the crops show a steady increase.

Following in importance to the stabilizing grainfruits, the growth of olives holds a position of note. Albania possesses about 1,500,-

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

3/2 A most profitable future is open to the many thermal and mineral springs, especially the hot sulphur springs at Llixha, near Elbasan, the springs near Përmet, Peshkopi, etc. all with diversified medical possibilities.

These thermal and mineral springs have been known and used with great results by the neighboring population for many years for all ailments, and only in recent years has their fame spread and great numbers of visitors from abroad began to come and appreciate the salutary effects of these springs.

3/6 The factors of importance in considering investments in Albanian mining enterprises are:

Albania is and has been for years consistently on a gold basis. That is to say, mines owe their regular and current profit-earning and divident-paying capacity to low costs of production and not to manipulated or artificial exchange premiums.

Albania is in Europe. It is geographically situated in the world's chief markets and does not have to contend with highly expensive transportation costs. It is directly linked with the great industrial centres of Europe by direct water routes.

The Kingdom of Albania is a modern well-

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

628 the man who has given it. Thus, if a member of
619 a tribe is killed unjustly by a man of another tribe; if a woman is stolen or injured or affronted; if any part of the tribal property is stolen; if a man or a tribe fails to keep a *besa* (a word of honor) in a matter of land or war or marriage or
• [312] irrigation—you will find excellent and admirable irrigation systems here—then the crime is punished by death. But if these crimes are committed against a member of the same tribe, then the house of the guilty man is burned, and he is cast off by the tribe and must go into the wilderness and live alone.

"You will see this law working out in the case of Shala and Shoshi. Last week a Shala man crossing the lands of Shoshi—the two tribes having some time ago sworn a *besa* that they would keep the peace between them—saw a woman of Shoshi on the trail. He said to himself that he would like that woman for his son, who was unmarried, though of marriageable age, because his betrothed had died in childhood. So the man of Shala took the woman of Shoshi to his house for his son, and there she is now.

"Apparently," said the bishop, dryly, "she did not make any outcry, for her husband was in their house only a few yards away, and it is a question whether she and the son had not previously arranged the abduction. However, the husband was, of course, obliged to avenge his honor, and he went at once to the heights above Shala and shot the son. This was, according to

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

423 "Well," said Perolli, "I pity the chiefs of that
578 village."

"But where do you suppose she got the idea?"

"Heavens knows. Who can tell what women will think of?" said Perolli.

We left her standing on the cliff edge, still superb and still defiant, the cigarette in her hand and the blue beads twinkling at the ends of her braids. A bright scarlet handkerchief was twisted around her head, and her wide belt, thickly studded with silver nails, shone like armor. A picture of revolt, and I thought what a catastrophe she must be in the peaceful village to which, clinging and dropping from bowlder to bowlder, we were descending.

"Will we see her again?" I asked.

"Oh, she'll probably drop in during the evening. She looks like a woman who would," said Perolli.

361 The village was perhaps fifteen houses, clustered on flat land at the foot of the cliffs. Beyond it, a creamy blue flood swollen by the rains, the Lumi Shala ran straight between the mountain
● [32] ranges. A score of little streams, stone walled and crossed by tiny stone bridges, ran through the village, and all the land on which it stood was cut into odd-shaped pieces by many stone fences and raised channels of stone for irrigation water. Dropping down into that village was rather like being a very small gnat descending on a piece of half-made honeycomb.

000 All the earth was sodden with water; we sank

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

from decaying beech leaves, these meadows make magnificent grazing in summer.

Where the underlying rock is serpentine, the forests in this zone are of pitch pine, not beech. Following the rock formation the pines may continue above the beech limit as on Mt Munellë in Mirditë, Mt Nezhdë, and the Peak of the Irons in Shalë. Or they may grow as low as the oak zone, adding to its amenities with their timber and pastures. In certain districts they cover whole mountain sides, while beeches fill the intervening, moister valleys; for beeches like a damp soil, and pines a dryish. Whether among the trees or in the clearings, these forests are a paradise for animals. They have other values, too. Their lower reaches are accessible enough for the peasants to cut their timber, load it on ponies, or slide it down the mountain side to their villages, there to be used for building or other simple purposes. Pine slivers are the only form of lighting in many village houses, and they also bring in a little money, finding a ready sale in towns as kindling for fires.

The pine and beech zone is mostly too high for winter use. Near the coast its tree-limit is 5200–5600 feet above sea-level. Farther inland, where one range shelters another and the soil is damper, it may be 6000 feet, as on Mt Bukanik in Shpat or Mts Munellë and Nezhdë. On Mt Gjalicë it is 7000 feet. Between the tree-limit and the summits of higher mountains there is nothing but rock, scree and treeless pastures.

This pine zone is as necessary to Albanian economy as the oak zone. On much of the treeless ground above it the grass is so coarse that sheep will not eat it at all, and horses nibble it only at the beginning of the summer season and then with distaste. The grass of the pine and beech zone is sweet and palatable even to dainty sheep throughout the summer. On the agricultural side the zone serves as a great catchment area, not only for the huge, unharnessed rivers that traverse north Albania, but also for the myriads of invaluable little streams that flow down to the agricultural districts in the oak zone. Without these streams there could be little irrigation; without irrigation there could be little agriculture. Maizé must have water, and there is never enough rain in summer to supply it.

In the two areas of summer pasturage, the beech and pine zone and the treeless slopes above it, many thousands of cattle, horses, goats, and especially sheep, graze from May to October. Their

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

would not recognize them and when A came to till his field, B's dog would treat him as an intruder and bite him, and he would have no legal claim to compensation for the injury. It is not known if this law obtained elsewhere, but the common sense on which it is based makes it probable that it did. Again, in the Moslem villages near enough to Elbasan to conform to the rigidity with which Moslem townsmen secluded their women, it was not permitted to make windows in a wall overlooking a neighbour's farmyard; the latter's womenfolk must be free to move about their yard unwatched. This ban on windows—which was Moslem, not Albanian—hardly extended to remoter Moslem villages, as women there enjoyed almost as much liberty as did their Christian ancestresses.

A man's ownership of his house and land was so absolute that he and his might emigrate temporarily or for good without losing their title to either house or land. Even if the family absented itself for a hundred years, no one might squat on its property. If the emigrant, before leaving, sold his land 'together with all that is on it', and one leaving for good usually did so, the piece constituting the site of the house remained his in spite of the terms of sale, and so long as one stone stood on another, no one might use the site. In Mirditë, however, a fixed term was set to this law; if the emigrant did not return within ten years, his house might be occupied by whosoever wanted it.

Every dwelling that emitted smoke might have one or more of the following accessories—yard, vegetable garden, field, road, boundary and, in suitable latitudes, vineyard. Of these the boundary and road were the most indispensable.[1] Every owner of a dwelling that emitted smoke had a right to graze his animals on the summer and winter pasturage owned by his village and to cut firewood and timber for his own use in the public coppices and forests. If he cared to build a bothy for his shepherds on a summer pasture or to break in ground for a field or vegetable garden on a common near his village, he was welcome to do so. He must first secure the consent of the elders of the village, who generally put the common weal before individual convenience. Their permission given, no one could stop his tilling the ground, nor turn him out. Theoretically every dwelling that emitted smoke should also have a portion of irrigation water, but the right to sell water often made this provision a dead letter.

[1] See Chapters VIII and IX.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

428 [428] older brothers had had time to acquire friends and could make their own way in the world, but the baby of the family knew nothing about anything except his father's house.

[423] After the land and the house had been divided, the boundaries between the holdings were demarcated. The house, it should be said, included land round it and also any cattle or sheepfolds.

●312 When the land was under water, irrigation channels were marked 428 out at the same time as the boundaries. Where the father had possessed one field with an irrigation channel running down its whole length, his sons tapped this channel without difficulty, each digging a small transverse channel from it on his own portion of the field. Where the stream was farther off the brothers jointly dug a channel to the point where their land met, after which each made a separate channel through his own ground; by preference each took this down his own side of the little path between his field and his brother's. When the water came from above a field so narrow that it must be divided short-ways, the brother getting the lower half was entitled to dig an irrigation channel down the side of his brother's land. But the area it occupied must be measured and an equivalent amount of land subtracted from his holding and added to his brother's. It was, of course, always stream irrigation that was in question.

The period for which each brother might irrigate was also settled when they separated. This was usually a matter of simple arithmetic. If, for example, the father had had the right to irrigate for two days, each of the two brothers was given the right for one day and each of three brothers for sixteen hours. In Mirditë, where few streams could be utilized, irrigation water was divided by the oke; unfortunately there is no information available as to how this was done.

Drinking water was seldom regulated; 'God has given it' and almost everywhere in excess. There was so little in some villages near Shkodër, however, that it was divided by the jugful, at least during the dry season. When brothers separated in these villages their portion of drinking water was decided. Division was as with food, by heads, so many jugfuls per person.

428 Milling rights varied from district to district. Where they were by hours or days each brother's quota was settled on the day of separation. It was again arithmetical, each of two brothers getting half the father's period and each of three getting one-third.

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especially near the sea, where the soil is alluvial and stoneless, had to be thirty-two spans wide (7 yards or 6·48 metres) in order to give a pack-horse space to dodge the mud-holes in winter, when the road became a morass. Excellent examples of this type of road traverse the half-drained marshes of Ngurëzë at the mouth of the river Mat.

Mountain roads eight spans wide led to villages 'where carts had never gone'. Certain other roads led to the rare villages 'where carts had gone'. These crossed firm inland plains such as the floor of the valley of Shkrel or the plain of Nangë in Lumë; in Shkrel they had to be twelve spans wide (8 feet or 2·43 metres), and in Lumë wide enough to take a cart. A picturesque detail from Mirditë is that a 'flag-road', that is to say, a road along which a flag was carried in tribal, wedding or other processions, had to be as wide as the flagstaff was long.

Roads always followed boundaries; as a general rule, when one passed two wards or two neighbours, exactly half of it had to be in the territory of each. In other words, their boundary had to run down its exact middle. Few modifications of this law are to be noted. When fields were on a slope, the road between them was often made on the upper one. The elders laying it out had reasoned that it would gradually slip down the hill, increasing the area of the upper field and diminishing that of the lower one. When there was an irrigation channel by the road, rules varied. In Theth one neighbour left three spans of land for the channel, and the other the same amount for the adjacent footpath. Their agreement might be verbal, noted only by witnesses, or it might be written down by the priest as tribal clerk and placed in the church archives. Each neighbour had full access to path and channel alike. In Lumë, on the other hand, a path was left on both sides of an irrigation channel. These were not only for men to walk on but also for maintaining the sides of the channel, a necessary safeguard even on level ground. Each neighbour, having his own path, was less liable to quarrel with the other.

In Perlat a highway was twenty-four spans wide (16 feet or 4·86 metres), to enable a horse laden with firewood to pass another without the loads touching. Elsewhere there was no provision for two-way traffic. Road-making in our sense did not exist, and roads were merely trodden out by man or beast in the scanty space available between fields or across mountain slopes. On a typical

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compromise reconciled the public's need to use the road and the individual's wish to protect his crop without incurring the intolerable expense of making a fence or wall. One neighbour put two hurdles across his half of the road, one where it entered and the other where it left his land; both were low enough for men to jump over and high enough to keep back animals. Each had a hole at the bottom that was too small for animals to crawl through but big enough to let logs through when they were dragged down from the mountain for fuel; logs for fuel were such a necessity of life that they could not be denied a road. The other neighbour threw across his half of the road the Christ's Thorn which grows all over the plains of Albania, thus making a formidable barrier for men and beasts. Shutting up this half of the road did not matter; animals had no right in any case to go near a sown field, and the other man's hurdle was sufficient for human traffic. After harvest the thorns were removed, leaving that half of the road clear. The hurdle remained in place, as the clear half of the road was wide enough for the traffic.

In 1935 a man from Nangë in Lumë blocked the road along an irrigation channel for the summer, half of it with a low wall and half with thorns, so that men, but not animals, could still travel on it. He had wished to sow maize in his adjoining field and been too poor and short-handed to construct a fence to keep out animals. Since irrigation was so important, there was a special law that 'a road beside an irrigation channel can't be shut up'. Consequently, his act was highly illegal. But his poverty was thought to excuse it, and he had mitigated his offence by making a new road for animals at the top of his field, where there was no maize. In so doing he had confused the right to block a road for the summer only and the need, when closing one permanently, to provide a substitute. For the law forbidding a man to block an old road permanently was not rigid. If he had good reason for the change, secured the consent of the elders (a most important point), and provided a satisfactory substitute, he could even move a very old road. It was only if he failed to satisfy these conditions that he had to leave it where it was. The poor man just mentioned transgressed by not consulting the elders; their unusual clemency lay in refraining, out of consideration for his poverty, from reopening the road.

When a man applied for leave to close an old village road, he generally pleaded damage by passers-by or a need for more land to

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and if properly placed to begin with, caused no trouble. The same was true of living hedges inland. On the other hand, living hedges in the marshy areas near the mouth of the river Mat sometimes grew so tall that they damaged the neighbouring land with their shade. To prevent this, the owner had to lop overgrown trees once every three years. Failing this, his neighbour could complain to the headman; inevitably they gave him leave to cut the trees down to the root on the owner's ground, an intrusion that was in itself a punishment, and fined the owner 250–450 grosh for breaking the law about lopping.

Similar rules regulated the planting of fruit and other trees, olives being included among the former. In Mirditë a fruit tree might be planted only 5 'feet' (1 metre) from the boundary; another kind had to be at least 10 feet away. In Godolesh, a great fruit-growing area, a fruit tree could be planted on the very boundary, but in adjacent Labinot it had to be a span away. In Shkrel it could be planted anywhere on one's own ground, as it never caused trouble by itself. As with living hedges, care had to be taken that a tree did not cast harmful shade over a neighbour's land. If one did so in Shkrel the owner agreed amicably to lop it, raising no objections unless he had already quarrelled with his neighbour over something else. In Mirditë he was bound to lop the offending branches; if he failed to do so his neighbour could lop them as high as he could reach with a hook, the handle of which did not exceed 3½ spans in length. In the mountains of Lesh the owner had to uproot the tree or to pay annual damages to his neighbour. In Godolesh the neighbour was entitled to stretch as far as he could and cut the too luxuriant branches with his short-handled axe. If a tree was doing no damage to neighbouring ground, it could not be lopped except by its owner. A man who transgressed this law in Mirditë had to pay its owner 500 grosh.

Sometimes an open drain adjoined a boundary. When it was first cut, each of the two neighbours provided half the ground required, did half the work and retained the earth excavated from his own side. Three stones, one big and two small, were left at the head to mark the boundary; the two other sets, normally placed in the middle and at the foot, were removed to make room for the water; as the drain discharged into a bigger channel, they could not possibly be left at the foot. The boundary naturally ran exactly down the middle. In most places the drain had to be cleared out

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annually. In Godolesh the two neighbours did it in alternate years, having exclusive right to the earth with its valuable fertilizing properties for the year when they did the clean up. In Lumë two neighbours cleared the drain together year after year and flung half the earth on one side and half on the other.

In other places one ditch seldom drained two neighbouring fields on the principle that 'you can't walk on my path or use my drain'. In Gurrëzë the man who wanted a drain had to cut it on his own ground with a 'footprint' (20 cm.) of land between the boundary and its edge for the protection of his neighbour's land. Without this buttress the drain might overflow or burst its bank to the detriment of his neighbour. In either contingency its owner had to pay compensation to his neighbour, but prevention of damage was always better for both parties. His neighbour might also accuse him of encroaching on his land, an insulting remark that provoked instant retaliation. If, later on, the neighbour wanted a drain he had to make one for himself, also a 'footprint' away from the boundary. In Lumë and Elbasan there was little risk that open drains would flood, but there too a space had to be left between their edge and the boundary. The avowed purpose of this space was to support the boundary stones. In all cases of single ownership the owner, on clearing the ditch, threw the earth on his own side, where it testified to his ownership if this was ever questioned.

Sometimes a man of Shkrel wanted both a drain and a fence. In that event the ditch was cut along the boundary and a strip of ground of the same width was set aside on the other side of the boundary. All the earth excavated from the ditch was thrown on this strip and so the neighbours became quits, one had a 'hole' on his land and the other a 'hill'. The fence was erected on the 'hill'.

We come now to one of the most important considerations in boundary making. North Albania is one of the wettest regions in Europe, and when the land was waterlogged it inevitably tended to slip downhill. The tropical intensity of many rainstorms increased the mischief. Terracing the fields would have helped to check it, but such manual labour is contrary to the habits and dignity of the north Albanian. His law, however, gave him every possible protection. When there were two fields on a slope, one above the other, they might be separated by a field-path, a road, an irrigation channel or a fence. (The term 'field-path' includes the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

423 134 [241] little 'headland' which formed along the top of the lower field as the plough-oxen turned in their ploughing.) It was vital to save the upper field from being undermined by the tillage of the lower one. So the field-path (or headland) was always assigned to the upper field, with the boundary and the fence, if any, along its lower edge. The upper man was strictly forbidden to work the path, generally grass-grown, and so fairly cohesive. The lower man was even more strictly forbidden to cultivate right up to the path for fear he brought it down; since his own land slipped a little lower every year as he tilled it, the field-path soared higher above it. Only if the lower field was in grass did the law revert to its usual form. If the upper field was planted with maize and the lower one a grass meadow, all the land under the boundary stones belonged to the lower field because grass is in itself binding enough to stop landslides.

If a road or an irrigation channel divided the two fields, the upper bank belonged in most places to the upper man, and the lower to the other, since there seemed no risk that cultivation of the lower field would undermine the upper one. In Greater [313] Dibër, however, no risks were taken. Both banks of an irrigation channel were given to the upper man in case the lower one worked too close to it. In any area, the owner of a lower field who made a drain for it had to make it four finger-breadths from his own boundary to make sure it did not damage the upper field.

[342] If building a new house, the owner of the lower field had to keep it far enough away from the boundary to do no damage to the fence, as any such damage would make the upper field slip. On the other hand, the owner of the upper field had licence to build his house as close to the fence as if the site were flat, that is to say, with only half the width of a footpath intervening, but he was never foolhardy enough to do so.

Sometimes it was the lower man who received protection from the law. In Martanesh, for example, when the upper one built a fence or wall round his field, he had to leave the boundary stones as well clear of it as if the field were flat. This was in case it moved and encroached on the boundary.

422 624 Sometimes a fence was misplaced. Even if it was only one cm. inside the neighbour's land, it had to be moved. In Bicaj the neighbour sent a mutual friend to say so to the owner; if the latter ignored the message the neighbour took down the fence and saw

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[681] 10. The government authorities therefore by this Decree order that the nine points above-mentioned shall be observed and put into execution without fail or opposition.

Issued by the Government Authorities of Shkodër
Shkodër, Albania
May 9th, 1864

L.S. Mareshali
Civil and Military Representative of the
Government with the Prefecture of Shkodër

ISMAIL PASHA

[619] II. Solemn Pledge between Mnelë and Gomsiqe, February 13th, 1873.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 118.)

At the meeting we are holding to-day we have decided to write out the following document in order to have it for reference.

We, the tribesmen of Mnelë and Gomsiqe, comprising 150 houses, have solemnly promised each other to hold ourselves ready and of one mind for every need that may eventuate.

The witnesses of this pledge are:

[Here follow the names of 15 tribesmen, headed by the bajraktar.]

Written this day of February 13th, 1873.

III. Laws Enacted by the Twenty-four Elders and Agreed by the Chiefs, etc. Written in the Village of Kastrat on November 2nd, 1891.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 125.)

1. From Krue i Ri, which belongs to all Kastrat, up to She i Gurit; rom Vorr Gjolaj to Breg i Gurrës, marching with Gjelosh Luce; from Shkamb Gropë Mollë to Brigje; from Gjekë Petroviqi to Çukë e Gurrës...whoever quarrels or fires a weapon within these limits will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[312] 2. Whoever refuses to allow a woman to fill her water-pitchers at fountains and springs saying she has no right to a share of the water, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

3. Whoever calls another names in the above-mentioned places or calls another's mother and father names, will be fined, if he is full 15 years old, 250 grosh and 3 rams.

4. Whoever goes to do a mischief in a mill must, if he is full 12 years old, pay a fine of 250 grosh to the miller and 500 grosh and 3 rams to the chiefs.

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[Laws enacted in the village of Kastrat on Nov. 2, 1891]

5. Whoever moves the stones of an old boundary and puts them in a new place will be fined 3000 grosh and 6 rams. [681] [423]

6. No one is to frighten a flock sheltering from the heat in a place it was in first.[1] Whoever does this will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams. [233]

7. The mill question remains inviolate as always and neither the Vukpalaj nor the Gjolaj may start a *degamë*,[2] and any miller who takes more than 5 per cent of the flour will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams. [256]

8. Any man who cuts down a tree under which animals take shelter from the heat or cuts off a mill or an irrigation stream will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.

9. Other fountains and springs are left under the old law, that is to say, whoever destroys a fountain or spring or prevents another from filling water-pots will be fined 500 grosh. [312]

10. Milling is by order of arrival. Any miller who mills for a man who comes later than another and breaks the order either out of favouritism or because corrupted by bribes will be fined 150 grosh and 3 rams. [256]

11. Whoever admits a stranger to huts on a mountain pasturage will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.[3]

IV. Truce Sworn between Nikaj and Mertur on August 10th, 1892. [628] [619]

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 121.)

The two tribes have sworn a truce with each other:

(1) As from August 14th up to the day of Our Lady of Mertur.

(2) As from December 26th up to the day of St Sebastian.

The guarantors of Flock and Shepherd, i.e. Nikaj and Mertur and the Bajraktars of Krasniqë and Gash.

V. Laws Enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on November 1st, 1892 A.D. [681]

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 126.)

At a general meeting held under the presidency of Brahim Beg the serxherde, Kasem Beg the bylikbash and the four and twenty chiefs (elders) of Kastrat, the following laws were enacted.

1. Whoever murders a man of Kastrat or of any of the other mountains will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[1] This must be a mistranslation. The Italian version of the sentence runs: *che nessuno ardisa impaurire il bastiame gravido.*

[2] The Italian version of this very obscure clause is as follows: *Le disposizioni riguardanti i mulini rimangono inaltarate per sempre e non possono causare litigi nè fra il povero nè fra il ricco*, clearly referring to the principle, enunciated again in § 10, which compels the miller to treat all his clients on the principle of 'first come, first served'. It is possible that the Albanian version has been misunderstood.

[3] This refers to the letting of some of the tribe's scanty pasturage to strangers.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prende's Day, 1894]

[681] [491] [594] solemnly pledged to safety for whoever goes to spend the night in Nikaj or Shalë. If any tribesman of Shalë who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Nikaj, the guest of all Shalë is killed, from dawn of day till the fall of night. If any tribesman of Nikaj who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Shalë, the guest of all Nikaj is killed, from the dawn of day till fall of night.

Between the same points the road is safe for Shosh and Mertur and is under the protection of Nikaj and Shalë. If a tribesman of Shosh kills a tribesman of Mertur he kills the guest of Shalë; if a tribesman of Mertur kills a tribesman of Shosh, he kills a guest of Nikaj.

[695] Whoever resorts to violence on this road must make an oath with twelve men taking the oath and twelve standing by.[1]

[233] 2. A flock and its shepherd are not to be killed by anyone; their safety is solemnly pledged and guaranteed. Any man who kills them must pay 20 purses or be killed and have his life equated to theirs.

3. If the pledge of safety is broken and a tribesman of one tribe kills during the period of pledge and guarantee and a tribesman of the other tribe does not so kill, twenty-four men of the tribe that had a man killed must take oath saying, 'You killed me when guaranteed'.

4. The whole road to Curraj up to the Krue i Ftofët (Cold Spring) is under a pledge of safety.

5. Mowers and reapers with scythe and sickle are under a pledge of safety in both summer and winter pasturages.

[313] Cutters of pine slivers and timber are under a perpetual pledge of safety.

[204] Shooters are under a pledge of safety from St Nicholas's Day in summer (May 9th) to St Nicholas's Day in winter (December 6th).

[312] A man irrigating during the night is under a pledge of safety.

6. A house with hearth and flour-bin and the keep of a house are not under a pledge of safety.

[231] Sheepfolds are under a pledge of safety.

7. If anyone goes out from the keep or the house in order to go to the sheepfold which is under a pledge of safety he must say, 'Look, man, we're going to the animals (or the fold), which are under a pledge of safety.'

[562] 8. As for women in Shkodër and Gjakovë:

If any of them wants herself to run away or to behave badly for the fun of it, good luck to her.

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: It was the custom in Dukagjin to make half, not all, of the jurors take an oath. If twenty-four jurors are ordered, twelve go and lay their hand on the Gospel and the other twelve stand listening with folded hands. In many mountain districts unless the principal person concerned excuses someone, it is the custom of all the jurors to go and lay their hand on the Gospel while repeating the words of the oath.)

In many cases the men shave their
302 their head completely except for a tuft of hair on top of the head.
291 This tuft is left by them to grow into a long lock. In the south their dress resembles that of the Greeks. In the north it varies from the town to the country, and in the countryside it varies again according to the different regions. In Scutari the Catholics wear wide, pleated black breeches which among the men reach down below the knees, and among the women down to the ankles. Further they wear white stockings, a short lower jacket with attached long sleeves and a sleeveless top jacket. In addition the women wear an embroidered sleeveless coat. The Mohammedans wear the pleated coat (fustan) that weighs several kilograms and remains short in central and southern Albania. It consists of several hundreds of long, narrow strips of linen cloth sewn together. A cotton or silk belt holds the coat, and the weapons are clamped inside a leather belt. To this are added a lower and a top jacket. The Mohammedan women wear very wide breeches and richly embroidered mantles with long sleeves that have slits in them. The fustan is regarded as being ancient Illyrian and is believed to have been developed from the kilt; it has been attested in the surviving artistic monuments in Mycenae and on ancient Crete, as well as in the Paladolithic caves of northern Spain. The rural population wears, likewise as an ancient Illyrian inheritance, a small, tightly-fitting, semi-spherical felt cap which does not cover much more than the top of the head, and is found represented among the "Barbarians" of the victory monument of Adam-Klissi. Tightly fitting sheep's wool trousers with two transverse slits in the region of the groin, which by some are considered Slavic, by others Thracian, an under jacket with sleeves, and a sleeveless vest, a mantle and a fur coat are also worn by the rural people. For these types of clothing evidences have again been
[462] discovered from antiquity. In the mode of life, the working of the
252 fields by the woman is regarded as an ancient cultural tradition; in the same category are placed the baking of flat cakes under the baking bell, the cooking of blood, fat, meat, and spices in a goat's stomach which is turned to and fro over the red hot coal embers, the cooking of wheat grains without prviously grinding them, the hand mill (Figure
412 14). and the turbine mill (Figure 10). The latter's grindstones lie five to six feet above the water wheel into whose spoon-like spokes the water
312 is poured from a steeply inclined conduit. Still belonging to the ancient cultural heritage are the watering of the field by means of canals and wooden conduits, something which is regulated by the family because of the dearth of water--Figure 16 shows a marking post, one and one-half meters high.

[See Karutz, El Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a--Analyst]

312 with the household marks of the families which are allowed to used
[493] the particular canal concerned in turn--, the screeching ox cart whose two wheels are two meters high because of the muddy roads, and which is drawn by the animals driven on by the goad and harnessed with a yoke on the nape of their necks; the wooden plow whose slade
501 and handle are both of one piece (Figure 9). The swimming bag made of a goat's skin that is blown up and tied to the front of the body, and the raft made of four such skins and a netting of intertwined osier switches, upon which the swimmer puts his clothes bundle (Figure 6). For the rest the people avail themselves of simple and double canoes, with or without side boards that raise the edge of the boat, with or without flanking beams that are nailed to the boat as floaters designed to maintain the equilibrium (Figures 7 and 8). Plank boats also occur. To husk the corn a mat of intertwined switches is placed on top of four posts rammed into the ground, and the corn cobs are then beaten with sticks one and one-half meters long, until the kernels have all fallen
411 to the ground through the plaited meshes (Figure 11). The long flint-locks, which are quite often beautiful old heirlooms, have only survived still in the south; they are being replaced by the modern repeating rifles, the pistols, and the handjars, the knife with the bone handle
221 of the shank of a cow, and the revolvers. The Albanians are to a
241 large extent farmers and in part migrating herders who commute back and forth between their winter quarters in the plains towards the Adriatic, where they work their fields, and their summer settlements on the highland pastures to which they return after they have finished working
[312] the fields. During wanderings in the highlands they rub last year's mountain snow on sheets of rock that have been scorched by the sun,
[202] in order to get water. The extensive settlement of the mountains has given rise to the development of a good signalling system by means
183 of shooting and shouting and their transmission. Certain old customs have been preserved that bespeak a life in firmly joined group combinations. To these belong the abducting of the bride, bride purchasing, the engagment of children, sworn blood brotherhood, and revenge for
[162] murder. The Albanians are approximately seven-tenths Mohammedan,
771 two-tenths Greek Orthodox, and one-tenth Roman Catholic. Nevertheless, all kinds of remnants have been preserved attesting an earlier spiritual life of the people which practiced a clairvoyant contemplation of supernatural powers and processes, basing its knowledge and its actions on the basis of its magical connection with these mysterious
000 forces. Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,

[See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a -- Analyst]